

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01     PARIS 37796 01 OF 02 222002Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
----- 096856 /60

R 222045Z DEC 76  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8194  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
USMISSION NATO  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
ALL EC CAPITALS 0272

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 37796

EXDIS

NOFORN

EO: 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR, FR, YU, UR, CSCE, MMOL  
SUBJ: ELYSEE ON GISCARD AND BREZHNEV VISITS TO  
YUGOSLAVIA

REFS: A. PARIS 36091. B. BELGRADE 7787.  
C. BELGRADE 8151. D. BELGRADE 7485. E. MOSCOW 18230.

1. ELYSEE INTERNATIONAL STAFF MEMBER HAS NOW, IN  
STRICT CONFIDENCE, GIVEN US CERTAIN INSIGHT INTO  
GISCARD'S PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH TITO IN YUGO-  
SLAVIA. SOURCE SAID THAT TITO EXUDED GENUINE SELF-  
CONFIDENCE THAT YUGOSLAVIA WOULD BE ABLE TO SUSTAIN  
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PAGE 02     PARIS 37796 01 OF 02 222002Z

ITS INDEPENDENCE AND MANAGE ANY POLITICAL OR SUB-  
VERSIVE THREATS WHICH IT MIGHT ENCOUNTER IN THE PERIOD  
AHEAD. IN THIS CONNECTION, TITO TOLD GISCARD THAT  
FIRST PART OF HIS RECENT MEETING WITH BREZHNEV HAD,  
IN FACT, BEEN "VERY TOUGH." BREZHNEV HAD STORMED IN  
WITH TRADITIONAL HIGH PRESSURE TACTICS, HAD REPROACHED

YUGOSLAVS ON VARIOUS SCORES, PARTICULARLY NON-ALIGNMENT, AND HAD MADE SERIES OF DEMANDS. TITO HAD, THEREFORE, BEEN OBLIGED TO TELL BREZHNEV IN WHAT WERE APPARENTLY LIVELY TERMS, THAT YUGOSLAVIA INTENDED TO CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN ITS "FULL INDEPENDENCE." DURING SECOND PART OF MEETING, TITO SAID BREZHNEV WAS VERY MUCH MORE POLITE AND AMENABLE ENABLING VISIT TO REACH SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION. GISCARD WAS LEFT WITH IMPRESSION THAT, PARTICULARLY IN IMPORTANT AREAS OF SOVIET USE OF YUGOSLAV PORTS AND OF SOVIET OVERFLIGHTS OVER YUGOSLAVIA, SOVIETS HAD BEEN UNABLE TO MAKE ANY GAINS OVER THE STATUS QUO. TITO ALSO SUCCESSFULLY DEFENDED NON-ALIGNMENT. ELYSEE SOURCE, NEVERTHELESS, EMPHASIZED THAT GISCARD HAD DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT THE SPECIAL WARMTH AND CORDIALITY (SEE BELGRADE'S EXCELLENT REFS B AND D) WHICH MARKED HIS RECEPTION, NOT ONLY BY TITO PERSONALLY, BUT ALSO IN PUBLIC DOMAIN, WAS EFFORT TO "BALANCE" BREZHNEV VISIT. THIS MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN REASON FOR SPECIAL GOY CONCERN TO HAVE LENGTHIEST POSSIBLE COMMUNIQUE TEXT ON "PRINCIPLES"--AN EXERCISE ELYSEE CONSIDERS SOMEWHAT OVERBLOWN.

2. ON OTHER ISSUES, CONVERSATIONS APPARENTLY COVERED PREDICTABLE THEMES IN STANDARD TERMS. QUAI DIRECTOR SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS ADDS, ON THIS SCORE, THAT THESE INCLUDED MIDDLE EAST, CYPRUS, A LENGTHY REVIEW OF BELGRADE CSCE ISSUES, THE NORTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE, AND A NUMBER OF BILATERAL ISSUES, INCLUDING FRENCH ARMS SALES.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03     PARIS 37796 01 OF 02 222002Z

3. ON CSCE, YUGOSLAVS PRESENTED A PROPOSED FOUR-POINT AGENDA FOR BELGRADE: (A) REVIEW OF THE SITUATION IN EUROPE (IN FIRST RATHER THAN SECOND PLACE, WHICH DIFFERS FROM ORDER THESE THEMES IN BASKET IV HELSINKI TEXT); (B) REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION OF HELSINKI FINAL ACT; (C) CONSIDERATION OF NEW MEASURES; AND (D) THE BELGRADE "FOLLOW-UP." UNDER HEADING OF NEW MEASURES YUGOSLAVS APPARENTLY VISUALIZE THAT BELGRADE CONFERENCE PRODUCE DOCUMENT DEALING WITH MODIFICATIONS OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES, NEW MEASURES AFFECTING THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND PERHAPS THE BREZHNEV THREE CONFERENCE PROPOSALS. FRENCH STRESSED THAT BELGRADE WAS NOT SEEN IN PARIS AS A FORUM FOR DISARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS, THAT FRENCH NOT PREPARED RENEGOTIATE THE FINAL ACT, AND ALSO HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS. BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE SHOULD NOT BECOME A CONFRONTATION WHICH COULD THREATEN DETENTE, A CONSIDERATION TO WHICH GOY ATTACHED

PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE.

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PAGE 01     PARIS 37796 02 OF 02 222000Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
----- 096866 /60

R 222045Z DEC 76  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8195  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
USMISSION NATO  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
ALL EC CAPITALS 0273

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 37796

EXDIS NOFORN

4. OUR READ-OUT FROM QUAI ON DISCUSSION OF NORTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE DISCUSSION IS LESS CLEAR, EXCEPT THAT YUGOSLAVS SEEMED CONCERNED OVER ITS ADJOURNMENT WHICH HAD JUST TAKEN PLACE, AND DREW ATTENTION TO THE MARCH MEETING OF THE BUREAU OF NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IN CONNECTION WITH TIMING OF RESUMPTION OF THE DIALOGUE.

5. ON ARMS SALES, ELYSEE SOURCE SAYS, IN STRICT CONFIDENCE, THAT ISSUE WAS RAISED BY TITO. FROM FRENCH VIEW, IN ADDITION TO PROBLEM OF SENSITIVITY OF CERTAIN FRENCH EQUIPMENT YUGOSLAVS WANT, AND FRENCH CONCERNS OVER POSSIBLE TRANSFER OF ITS SALES ITEMS TO THIRD PARTIES, A FURTHER MAJOR LIMITING FACTOR IS GOY INABILITY TO PAY. FRENCH NOT PREPARED OR ABLE TO  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02    PARIS 37796 02 OF 02 222000Z

PROVIDE ANYTHING EXCEPT "VERY" SHORT-TERM CREDITS FOR ARMS PURCHASES, PARTICULARLY SINCE YUGOSLAV CREDIT ALREADY RATHER STRAINED. THUS FRENCH PREPARED TO SELL (IN SOME CASES CONTINUE TO SELL) CERTAIN NOT-TOO-SENSITIVE ITEMS (SOURCE MENTIONED HELICOPTERS AND ANTI-TANK MISSILES) IN LIMITED AMOUNTS. AT SAME TIME, QUESTION OF GOY FINANCING OF MORE EXTENSIVE PURCHASES WOULD REMAIN SUBJECT FOR FURTHER CONTACTS AT BILATERAL TECHNICAL LEVELS.

6. BOTH ELYSEE AND QUAI ARE SATISFIED WITH GISCARD VISIT, WHICH THEY CONSIDERED USEFUL FIRST STEP IN RENEWING IMPETUS HIGH-LEVEL GOY-FRENCH RELATIONS AND AS MEANS OF BUTTRESSING YUGOSLAV CONFIDENCE. BOTH STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT NOTHING VERY CONCRETE EMERGED OTHERWISE, APART FROM IMMEDIATE UTILITY OF VISIT TO YUGOSLAVS IN SETTING BREZHNEV APPEARANCE IN PERSPECTIVE.  
RUSH

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## Message Attributes

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